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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyáńān*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańsdl* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbará* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *bará* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*pńsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tónib*), is placed either on a *duydt* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-lukú* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *tázo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*maxaddń*).

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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaṅkáṅ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalánān* or *masaltân* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *maxaníto*, which is cutomary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

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ment, so that as far as I understand the Isneg mind, a living child will result more to the satisfaction of everybody concerned than a dead one. A 847

I just stated that to the Isneg all children were welcome; this should, however, be understood of children who come into the world unaccompanied: twins (*sisin*; also called *sagdappilan*, from *dappil*, "being pressed against one another face to face") are a different matter. Except in the case of the Negritos, I have not met with a single Filipino tribe who had not one or more superstitious beliefs connected with the birth of twins, and in case of pagan tribes worse than that. A 845

While I was living among the Iloko, who have been Christians for many centuries, I heard them say more than once that a woman would not eat a double banana (two in one skin), lest she bear twins; and it often became a matter of jest when a double banana appeared either at the table or otherwise, whenever some young woman, whether married or single, was present. All this goes to show that the Iloko consider that the birth of twins is, to say the least, not a thing to be desired. This is nothing else but the remnant of a former belief, as will be proved presently in the case of the pagan tribes N 845 A 171

In general among the pagan tribes all over the Mountain Province, the natives kill one of twins, and to this rule the Isneg are no exception It is only natural that in many instances this custom tends to disappear, as the natives have to reckon with the vigilance of the authorities, but nevertheless the custom is still there, and it is a very deep-rooted one. I know of only two cases of living twins among the Isneg and they came to my notice only very recently, whereas I know positively that the custom of killing one of twins exists at least in the municipal district of Conner and in that of Kabugaw, while there is no reason to believe that it does not exist actually, or at least did not exist originally and until recently, among the inhabitants of the other municipal districts. A 845 171

In the municipal district of Conner, pagan girls who had received a superior education told us freely that in case they gave birth to twins they would never allow both children to live. In the municipal district of Kabugaw not so long ago a male child, one of twins, was killed at Alumani, and I know of a similar case in another locality.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the infant is buried alive immediately after birth; this was told me by my informants, and so it happened in the Alumani case. Either of the two may be chosen A 847 845

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847 as the victim; the first as well as the second may be considered as the
845 unwelcome guest.

The question is to know why the Isneg kill one of twins. This is no easy matter to ascertain. In general, direct inquiries bring no result and throw no light on the subject; most of the time even the practice itself is flatly denied. This happened, among others, in the case of two of my informants who stated that a woman who partook of a double fruit (two bananas in one skin, two betel nuts in one husk, etc.) would give birth to twins, in which they agreed with the Ilоko, as has just been explained. Both at first denied that the Isneg ever killed one of twins, and even cited the example of two young men, still alive and actually dwelling at Aligawa. When the Isneg see no way out and realize that you know all about the matter, they usually state that they kill one of twins because they are ashamed, and here they probably tell the truth. One informant told me that they did so lest they should have to feed two children at a time, and another one said that if both children were allowed to live, the whole family would die.

In so far as I know the Isneg, I believe the question of having to feed two children at a time to be a small matter, and in this I see no reason for killing one of twins, at least in every case; besides, this does not explain why an Isneg should feel ashamed at such an occurrence; so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. There is also no connection, even in the eyes of an Isneg, between being ashamed and danger of death; so, even allowing that the fear of dying may be one of the reasons for killing one of twins, some more plausible reason should be sought after in order to explain the shame conceded by the
[848] generality of Isneg to be connected with the birth of twins. I believe I struck the right answer when one of my informants told me very confidentially that one of the two was considered to be the unlawful offspring of some other man, not the child of its mother's husband. In such a case of course there is every reason for both husband and wife to feel ashamed about the whole affair. But much may be said against this explanation; so now I shall try first to answer all objections, and then to give my own idea about the whole custom and the reason given for the same.

842 It should be stated once for all that there is no question of ascrib-
845 ing one of twins to intercourse of the mother with some spirit or ghost; that any Isneg should entertain such an idea was denied most categorically by all my Isneg informants: both infants are always considered as children of woman by man.

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But if the Isneg are very willing to rear a child born out of wedlock, and even an adulterous one, which is a fact, why should they be ashamed of rearing one of twins, who also is supposed to belong to the same category, merely because it is one of twins? In our eyes, supposing the explanation to be the right one, which of course it is not, it would be at least as shameful for a mother to give birth to a single adulterous child as to one that is accompanied by another. But the Isneg viewpoint is different.

I shall wave aside the case of a natural child and confine myself to that of an adulterous one. Indeed in the case of a natural child, after the father has paid the penalty, and he always does, the shame resulting from the birth of such a child will have been practically compensated by the anger of the girl's parents and the satisfaction required from the offender; besides, that shame will be comparatively much smaller than that which is connected with the birth of an adulterous child.

In the case of an adulterous child, if the husband knows that his wife has or has had intercourse with another man, and that the infant that will be born from her is not his own, one of two alternatives presents itself: he may either divorce the woman, or else get some other satisfaction and let nature take its course. But here, in both instances, one sees at a glance that all shame that could be connected in the eyes of an Isneg with the birth of an adulterous child has been completely done away with. In the first instance the guilty woman is free, and in the generality of cases she will already be living with some other man; anyhow the child will be her own, and hers exclusively, and the baby will be welcome to all; nobody will talk about it, as the matter was settled long ago, namely at the time of her divorce from her former husband. In the second instance, no shame accrues to either husband or wife, as nobody is supposed to know anything about the matter and the child will pass as the offspring of its mother by her lawful husband; with reference to those who know, satisfaction has been given or forgiveness has been granted.

But the case is quite different when twins are born, always on the supposition, which to the Isneg is nothing less than positive truth, that one of them is really the offspring of some other man. In this case, the mother is still in the eyes of all the world the lawful wife of her husband, she is not free, and there is no question of satisfaction or forgiveness, as nothing has transpired up till now; so she is caught flagrantly and convicted of adultery (always in the eyes of the Isneg)

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848 as clearly as if somebody had witnessed her having intercourse with
845 her paramour. Hence the shame; and this is, I believe, but natural if considered from the Isneg point of view.

848 But again it might be asked: what is the use of resorting to such
845 a drastic measure, that of killing one of twins? Does the shame
811 not remain the same? Yes and no. She certainly has been caught (I repeat it, always in the eyes of the Isneg), but so far very few people know about it and everybody will keep mum; while, if both children lived, the secret would become public property, and everybody would know about the bad behavior of the mother. Here, however, I am much in doubt if this last answer concurs with the Isneg point of view, and besides, I may urge the matter further and ask: Why is the husband not angry with the real father of the babe? Why does he not divorce his wife? It might be answered that he could not very well know with what man he should be angry, that he might even know very positively that his wife has always been a virtuous woman, and so find no reason for divorcing her. Such answers, however, are evidently very unsatisfactory, and, as I have hinted at in its place, the preceding answer would perhaps never be proffered by an Isneg.

Here then, in my humble opinion, is the core of the whole difficulty, and to me it looks simply like one out of many examples of the reasoning of the Isneg, in which they imitate some Spaniards who are afraid of venturing on a trip on Tuesdays and Fridays (el martes y el viernes ni te cases ni te embarques) and some Americans who nail an old horseshoe to their auto for luck.

Consequently my opinion of the whole matter is this: it is sufficient to have lived with the generality of Christian Iloko for one week at a time, I mean to have lived *with* them, not in their immediate neighborhood in your own house, but in their own abode, sleeping on their mat and eating at their table, it is enough, I say, to have lived intimately with them for a comparatively short time to be convinced that nothing will happen which might be regarded as more or less out of the ordinary without an explanation being sought at once, not an explanation that is natural and quite simple, but one that will touch on the preternatural, if not on the supernatural. Anyhow some explanation will be looked for, and this will rarely or never be the ordinary one, which truly and simply fits the known facts, since it would surely be considered as far from satisfactory, on account of its being quite natural, while the event is supposed to be unnatural. If a leaf moves, an insect hums, a bird flies, etc., and such an occurrence

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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now, there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbiń or *ababbiń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbiń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbiń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

000 back to their home and pounded up tobacco. After pounding it, they returned and put the powdered tobacco in the brook. Thus the fish was poisoned. So they could go home now, with the fish and the earrings. Mora took the earrings and wore them. On account of obtaining the earrings, Sodac and his wife came to think that they should hold a big *sayam*. So they began to call the *anitos* for the fish. First they spread a good blanket on the floor by the door-side and laid the fish on it. They invited many people from far and near. When the guests were all in the house, Sodac and Mora related their fish story.

845 So all the women held an *anito* till midnight. As they were enjoying their *say-am*, the hill behind the house burst open and flowed down and covered the house. Only Mora was not killed, as she was thrown out through the window. Early in the morning Mora miraculously gave birth. The miraculous thing about it was that the babies were twins: one was a small female pig and the other one was a normal male baby.

152 When the two babies were children the pig went
845 to the forest forever; and the boy went also to the forest and joined the other *anitos*. Mora did not know why her babies disappeared: so she kept looking for them; but she could not find them anymore. At last Mora became crazy.

THE MADATAG JUMP

103 Hundreds of years ago there were few inhabitants of Apayao. Madatag *barangay* was the only *barangay* which had many people. At that time they